

Manuel Chrysaphes and his *Treatise*: Reception History, a Work in Progress

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Abstract. The reception history of Manuel Chrysaphes, one of the most prestigious and high-ranking musicians of the Byzantine Empire during its final decades, has yet to be thoroughly studied. Chrysaphes' oeuvre is massive and includes hundreds of compositions as well as an important theoretical treatise, *Περὶ τῶν ἐνθραυμένων τῇ ψαλτικῇ τέχνῃ καὶ ὧν φρονοῦσι κακῶς τινες περὶ αὐτῶν*, unique in its time for its emphasis on composition. In the years following Chrysaphes' activity, the manuscripts testify to extensive copying and broad geographic distribution of his compositions and treatise, suggesting a profound admiration amongst contemporary ecclesiastical musicians for their Constantinopolitan forebear. By the nineteenth century, when his original compositions may have no longer formed the core of the standard chant repertoires, Chrysaphes – who in his treatise makes his own case for 'correctness' on the basis of continuity – gains prestige once again, now as the author of a critical foundational document in the context of early nineteenth century notions of continuity. Specifically, Chrysanthos of Madytos utilizes Chrysaphes' words in his own work, the *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς*, to buttress theories of contemporary performance practice by means of providing a witness from Byzantine times. Chrysaphes' treatise would continue to be interpreted in the context of similar debates related to authenticity and continuity, though in largely different contexts, in the twentieth century. On the one hand, Chrysaphes' rich expositions related to compositional genres, melody, and modality have provided the basis for several twentieth century musicological investigations of the medieval Byzantine chant repertory. On the other, the *Treatise* has been referenced to support theories of continuity in the tradition of Byzantine chant, especially as a reaction to allegations of stark discontinuity between the medieval and received traditions. The durability of Chrysaphes' treatise and his authoritative position in the post-Byzantine psaltic milieu can be gleaned from the frequency with which it has been utilized, and the range of arguments it has been called on to support.

1. Background

Manuel Chrysaphes' treatise, *On the Theory of the Psaltic Art*, has been one of the most frequently referenced theoretical works concerning music from the Byzantine or post-Byzantine era. Chrysaphes' words have been used to underpin theories ranging from continuity in performance practice to the characteristics of the modal system of Byzantine chant.¹ The present paper shall endeavor to provide a brief overview of Chrysaphes' reception – both by church musicians in the generations immediately following his activity as well as by cantors and musicologists of the 19th and 20th centuries. This study will sketch a background of Chrysaphes' life and his main literary work – the *Treatise* – in the context of the intellectual culture of the Late Byzantine Empire in order to highlight the fact that Chrysaphes both utilized traditional rhetorical models of the Palaiologan elite, yet departed from the classicizing music theorists of his time by writing on a subject related directly to contemporary musical practices. Next, Chrysaphes' immediate reception will be considered, based primarily on the relative

¹ The term *Byzantine chant* is used for convenience here to denote the tradition – both practical and theoretical – of monophonic, ecclesiastical singing in various localities of the Eastern Mediterranean that followed the Byzantine Liturgical Rite, encompassing a time span from the Middle Ages until the present day. For an introduction into the development of the Byzantine Rite, see: Robert Taft SJ, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History*, (Colgeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992).

frequency and distribution of his works in post-Byzantine musical sources.² Finally, a preliminary survey of the modern reception of Chrysaphes will be offered, starting with Chrysanthos³ in the early nineteenth century. For Chrysanthos, Chrysaphes provided the authoritative link between contemporary practices and Byzantine chant's venerable medieval heritage, a theme that would be taken up by later musicians and scholars but in a largely altered context, as will be discussed below.

Emmanuel Doukas Chrysaphes was the last important musician associated with the royal court of Byzantium and perhaps, at least in the fifteenth century, one of the Empire's most important musical personalities. We know that he held the position of *lampadarios* of the royal palace,⁴ based on two inscriptions found in his most important autographs, Ivron 975 (a *Kalophonic Sticherarion*) and Ivron 1120 (a 704-folio *Anthology-Papadike*), as well as from inscriptions in several later manuscripts.⁵ Ivron 1120 contains a *prokeimenon* for the feast of Christmas, written by Chrysaphes at the commission of Emperor Constantine, as indicated by the following rubric of folio 137r: "Στίχος ποιηθείς παρὰ Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφει, δι' ὀρίσμου τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μακαρίτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐθέντου ἡμῶν κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου, πλ. δ', Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε." Several later manuscripts including MS Hypselou 40 contain compositions evidently commissioned by Constantine's younger brother, the Emperor John, who held the crown until his sudden death in 1448. Thus, Chrysaphes was a cantor and choir director of the chapel of the royal palace under the final two Palaiologoi, John VIII and Constantine XI, not of Hagia Sophia as stated incorrectly by Chrysanthos of Madytos and several others after him.⁶ We can date Chrysaphes in this imperial position from at least the 1440s, and likely earlier, until the Ottoman conquest

² This section is highly indebted to the extensive codicological work of scholars such as Dimitri Conomos, Gregory Stathes, Dimitrios Balageorgos, Flora Kritikou, and Emmanuel Giannopoulos.

³ Chrysanthos (c. 1770-1846), author of the ambitious theory manual and history of music (*Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς*, Tergeste, 1832) and eventual Bishop of Madytos, led a reform of the medieval notation system in the first quarter of the nineteenth century along with his Constantinopolitan colleagues, Gregorios Levitis the Protopsaltis (1778-1821) and Chourmouzios "the Archivist" (c. 1770 – 1840).

⁴ The leading cantor of the second palatine choir, the second most prestigious musical position in the imperial court, was the *Lampadarios*, named as such for he at one time held a great lantern (*λαμπάδα*), shining light on the emperor during imperial ceremonies. See Gregory Stathes, *Οἱ Αναγραμματισμοὶ καὶ τὰ Μαθήματα τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μελοδοποιᾶς* (Athens, 1979/1992), 29-30, which is largely based on the testimony of Ps.-Kodinos, edited by Jean Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos: Traité des offices. Introduction, texte et traduction* (Paris, 1966).

⁵ A rubric in MS Ivron 975 is among the witnesses to Chrysaphes' position: *Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφου καὶ Μαῖστορος τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου* (f. 173r). The first important biography of Chrysaphes, written by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus ("Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης, λαμπαδάριος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κλήρου", *Vizantiskij Vremennik*, 8, [1901], 526-45), states that Chrysaphes was director of the choir in the imperial chapel, not at Hagia Sophia. Papadopoulos-Kerameus' assertions are largely based on references found in MSS Leimonos 244 (16th century), Leimonos 239 (1672), an unnamed 18th century *Papadike*, and Hypselou 40, which all state that Chrysaphes was a member of the royal clergy.

⁶ This mistake was pointed out first by Papadopoulos-Kerameus. See also Christos Patrinelis, "Protopsaltae, Lampadarii and Domestikoi of the Great Church during the post-Byzantine Period (1453-1821)", in Miloš Velimirović (ed.), *Studies in Eastern Chant* 3 (1973) and Manolis Chatzegiakoumes, *Μουσικὰ Χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας 1453-1832* (Athens, 1975), respectively.

in 1453, after which he traveled to Mistra in the Peloponnese.⁷ Later, we know that Chrysaphes traveled to Crete, where he taught and composed, infusing his contemporaries and subsequent generations with the Constantinopolitan idiom of psalmody. Finally, the MS Xeropotamou 270 (f. 123b), along with Iviron 1120 (f. 167v),⁸ testify to Chrysaphes' presence in Serbia. Dimitri Conomos' comparative analysis of Late Byzantine and Slavonic *koinonika* lends credence to this assertion, for he finds Chrysaphes' communion hymns abundantly present in Moldavian manuscripts as "early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, and possibly earlier."⁹

2. The treatise

2.1. The intellectual environment of Late Palaiologan Byzantium

Chrysaphes' treatise was completed in 1458, as indicated in the colophon of Iviron 1120, and consists of three main parts: 1) a Prooimion, 2) a section on *melodic theses*,¹⁰ and 3) the largest section, an overview of the *phthorai* (sing: *phthora*), the symbols of modal alteration which were written in red ink and proliferated in musical manuscripts after about 1300.¹¹ The treatise bears the traits of comparable literary products of the Palaiologan period and by extension of late antiquity in a few important respects. This should not be surprising given, on the one hand, Chrysaphes' status as an imperial musician, which would place him amongst the few educated elite, and on the other, the survival of secular education in Byzantium in its "antique, i.e., rhetorical form."¹² As I will show below, Chrysaphes both communicates with and departs from these classical and late Byzantine models.

In his Prooimion, Chrysaphes claims to have been pressured by his student Gerasimos to write his treatise.¹³ Chrysaphes' purported objective is to benefit those who wish to seriously study the psaltic art, but also to rebuke those who hold incorrect opinions, "those who without exact and unfailing knowledge have undertaken this art" ("τὸ μὴ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ἀκριβοῦς τε καὶ ἀπταιστού τὴν τοιαύτην μετέρχεσθαι τέχνην").¹⁴ Though we do have evidence of a musical controversy documented in some monastic

⁷ Mistra fell to the Ottoman Turks on May 29, 1460.

⁸ Stathes (*Οἱ Ἀναγραμματισμοί*, 103) notes the following rubric accompanying a kalophonic composition by Chrysaphes of the verse *Καὶ ἀπολεῖσθε* from Psalm 1, on f. 167v of MS Iviron 1120: "ἐποιήθη ἐν τῇ Σερβίᾳ· ὡς δοκεῖ μοι πάνυ καλόν." Chrysaphes likely traveled to Serbia between 1453 and 1458, after the Fall and prior to the completion of this codex, in 1458.

⁹ Examples of such manuscripts include Scukin 350 and Putna 56. See Dimitri E. Conomos, *The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music* (Washington, D.C., 1985), 186.

¹⁰ *Theses* (singular: *thesis*), the individual musical phrases that comprise the building blocks of Byzantine chants. Its precise definition in Chrysaphes' medieval document is disputed by current musicologists.

¹¹ Christian Troelsgård, "Tradition and Transformation in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Chant", in J.O. Rosenqvist (ed.), *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture* (Uppsala, 2004), 162.

¹² Mango, 1984 ("Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror"): 9.

¹³ Dimitri Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, The Lampadarios* (Vienna: Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Corpus Scriptorum de re Musica, 2; 1985). Conomos emphasizes that this was a common rhetorical device employed in both Eastern and Western writings of the Middle Ages, giving two examples, the *Bibliotheca* and *Amphilochia* of Patriarch Photios of the 9th c., and Johannes de Grocheo's *De Musica*, a 13th c. Western treatise on music.

¹⁴ Conomos, *The Treatise*, 36.

ktetorika typika of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,¹⁵ this narrative of opposition should nevertheless be seen as another rhetorical device not unfamiliar to highbrow Byzantine literature. Manuel Bryennius, the early 13th century intellectual and author of probably the most widely copied late Byzantine musical treatise, *Harmonics*, begins his work by stating that he wishes “to revive the interest of those who, understanding the importance of this science, regret its loss and are eager to learn but unable to without assistance,” and furthermore, “to defend and clarify this science from those men whom the ignorant masses call sages,” two objectives which are strikingly similar to those found in Chrysaphes’ *Prooimion*.¹⁶ This trope is also encountered in classical works, such as the musical treatise of Aristoxenus (4th c. BC).¹⁷ As Andrew Barker points out, Aristoxenus “mentions earlier exponents of the science repeatedly, but always to criticize them... their main function in his writings is to point up, by contrast, his own immeasurable superiority.”¹⁸ Likewise, Chrysaphes does not hesitate to imply that he and his theories are irreproachable (ἀνεπιλήπτοις), especially in the face of his critics, who are motivated rather by envy and jealousy (φθόνος).¹⁹

Chrysaphes was well versed in ‘elite’ Byzantine literature, which included the standard corpus of classical and Hellenistic works.²⁰ The musicologist Ioannes Arvanitis recently located an important parallel between Chrysaphes’ treatise and the treatise of the Hellenistic grammarian, Dionysius Thrax, which furthers this contention. In his section on the melodic theseis, Chrysaphes enumerates six essential characteristics of the psaltic art, and calls the individual who has mastered these categories a “perfect teacher” (“διδάσκαλος τέλειος”).²¹ The treatise of Dionysius Thrax also includes six essential components of the art of grammar. Not only do these passages share the number of traits essential for achieving perfection in their respective arts, but they end with the very same words,²² leading Arvanitis to conclude that Dionysios’s *Γραμματική Τέχνη* must have functioned as a model for Chrysaphes.²³ Thus, it is not difficult to

¹⁵See Rosemary Dubowchik, “Singing with the Angels: Foundation Documents as Evidence for Musical Life in Monasteries of the Byzantine Empire”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, No. 56 (2002).

¹⁶ Goverdus Henricus Jonker, *The Harmonics of Manuel Bryennius* (The Netherlands, 1970), 51.

¹⁷ Ioannes Arvanitis, “On the Meaning and Purpose of the Treatise by Manuel Chrysaphes”, in G. Wolfram (ed.), *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant* (2008), 105-28.

¹⁸ Andrew Barker, *The Science of Harmonics in Classical Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 136.

¹⁹ Conomos, *The Treatise*, 67.

²⁰ Jonker points to 46 known manuscripts with “integral text prior to 1600, in comparison to only a handful of copies of the *Ἀρμονικά-Μουσική* of George Pachymeres, Bryennius’ senior contemporary (Jonker, 21). See also Thomas J. Mathiesen, “Aristides Quintilianus and the “Harmonics” of Manuel Bryennius: A Study in Byzantine Music Theory”, *Journal of Music Theory*, 27/1 (1983), 31-47, where Mathiesen cites 43 *loci paralleli* between the works of Bryennius and Quintillianus (34). Also, see Barker, *The Science*, 442.

²¹ Jorgen Raasted suggests that this terminology is reminiscent of – and thus may refer to – Aristotle’s *teleion systema* and the *Hagiopolites* Treatise’s *teleia mousike* (see Raasted, *The Hagiopolites. A Byzantine treatise on musical theory* (1983).

²² DT: Ὁ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ. / MC: Ὅπερ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ.

²³ Incidentally, *theseis* is itself a word lifted from the grammatical disciplines, a phenomenon common to Western medieval music treatises such as that of Guido. With respect to Guido’s education outside of music, the *Micrologus* is the most revealing of his treatises. Chapter 15, “De comode vel componenda

establish an intellectual thread connecting classical writing on the science of music and harmonics as well as on grammar and rhetoric, through Late Byzantine authors such as Bryennius, to Manuel Chrysaphes. This connection is further emphasized when Chrysaphes' treatise is put into relief against other treatises of ecclesiastical music such as that of Gabriel Hieromonachos²⁴ and the Anonymous *Ἀκρίβεια*, which, intended for (especially monastic) students of chant, are generally devoid of the rhetorical devices which characterize Chrysaphes' work.

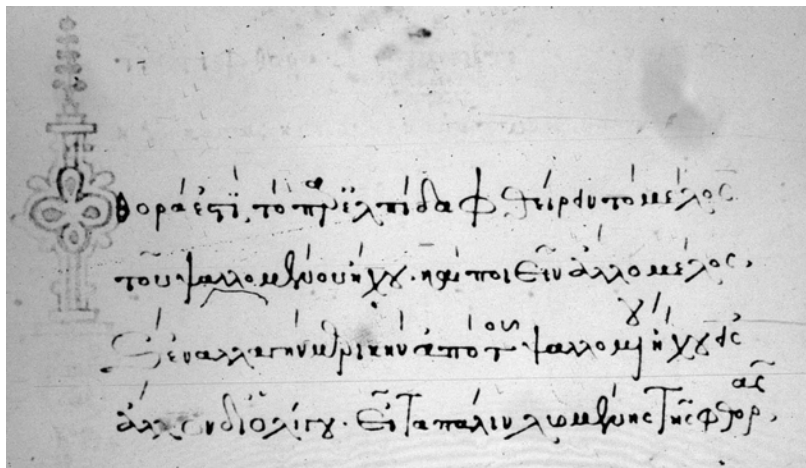


Figure 1. Excerpt from Chrysaphes' treatise, MS Ivron 1120, f. 18v.

2.2. Emphasis on composition

Though, as just stated, Chrysaphes' treatise is written in this classical framework, its content is strikingly relevant to the fifteenth century. In his introduction to *The Harmonics of Manuel Bryennius*, Goverdus Jonker, notes: "By the sixth and seventh centuries, when Byzantine ecclesiastical music began to develop along its own lines, ancient Greek music was long dead and forgotten, but for hundreds of years people continued theorizing about tone-systems with their underlying acoustic and mathematical principles... without relating their reflections to the music of their own day."²⁵ This dichotomy, familiar in the West via Boethius' distinction between the

modulation," shows that Guido was schooled in medieval grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. He begins the chapter by stating that one can put together musical sounds in successively larger units in the same way that one joins constituent parts of language: i.e., for music: *pthongi, syllabae, neumae*; likened to those used in verse: *litterae, syllabae, partes, pedes*. The analogy to language structure returns in the Guido's *Regule* and *Epistola*. See Dolores Pesce (ed.), *Guido d' Arezzo's Regule Rithmice, Prologus in Antiphonarium, and Epistola ad Michaelem: A Critical Text & Translation* (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Medieval Music, 1999).

²⁴ Gerda Wolfram and Christian Hannick date the monk and theorist Gabriel slightly earlier than Chrysaphes. See *Gabriel Hieromonachos: Abhandlung über den Kirchengesang* (1985, Wien), 21.

²⁵ Jonker, *The Harmonics*, 27-8. Christian Troelsgård offers an alternate perspective in "Ancient Musical Theory in Byzantine Environments," *Cahiers de l' Institute de Moyen-age Grec et Latin* 56 (1988), 228-38. Troelsgård points to a handful of medieval treatises, in particular, the treatise ascribed to Bacchius Senex, the *Hagiopolites*, and even, but to a lesser extent, the treatises of George Pachymeres and Manuel Bryennius, to argue that Byzantine theorists copied material from Ancient Greek music theory manuals not for the mere purpose of preservation but because they found them to be of practical value in describing contemporary musical phenomena. A similar point is made in Pavlos Erevnidis, "In the Name

musicus and the *cantus* also characterized late Byzantine musical treatises such as those by George Pachymeres and Bryennius,²⁶ whose works relate to practical music only briefly and superficially.²⁷ The same highly theoretical nature of writings on music in the West²⁸ prompted Guido of Arezzo – the eleventh century singer and theoretician largely credited with introducing staff notation – to claim that it was necessary to depart from the example of Boethius, for his book was “useful to philosophers only, not to singers.”²⁹ The departure from the theoretical to the practical is also witnessed to in manuscripts of the early Palaiologan period, which begin to transmit a body of didactic material which included several anonymous diagrams and exercises focused on teaching the neumes of melodic ascent and descent as well as the modal signatures. Other than the *Hagiopolites*, preserved in two manuscripts,³⁰ which includes basic psaltic material but also a hodgepodge of ancient Greek musical theory, this body of work (the *Μέγα Ἴσον* of Koukouzeles, and the treatises of Hieronymos Tragodistes, the Cypriot student of Zarlino, Gabriel Hieromonachos, John Plousiadenos,³¹ the anonymous *Akriveia*,³² and that of the Cretan composer and cantor, Akakios Chalkeopoulos), transmits theories and exercises which are, on the whole, practically-minded and suited for the ecclesiastical singer.

Chrysaphes’ treatise is directed towards the ecclesiastical musician yet his work differs from the rest: rather than focusing on the reading of the neumes and on their execution, Chrysaphes directs his material towards the composer, the individual who imagines and then writes the hymns.³³ Remarkably, five of the six chief components (κεφάλαια)³⁴ of the psaltic art relate exclusively to the process of composition, and the opponents Chrysaphes seeks to correct are characterized as ἀμαθῶς καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνως

of the Mode’: Intervallic Content, Nomenclature and Numbering of the Modes,” Paper read at Cantus Planus, 2006, at Lillafured / Hungary (2006), 93-114.

²⁶ Jonker (29) argues that Bryennius’ impact was especially far reaching in his own time. For example, it was Theodore Metochites, a pupil of Bryennius, who introduced the “encyclopedic, humanist scholar” Nicephorus Gregoras (1295-1395) to the study of astronomy, mathematics, and music. See also Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des ostromischen Reiches*, 527-1453 (1891, Munich), 293-298.

²⁷ The attempted comparison of Greek modes to Byzantine *echoi* in Book III of Bryennius comes to mind.

²⁸ “It speaks volumes that the two leading Byzantine theoreticians Pachymeres and Bryennius are not named in the chapter headed “Byzantine Music” in the Cambridge Medieval History (Vol. IV, part II) whereas both occur in the one headed “Byzantine Science” in the same work (Jonker, 264-305).

²⁹ Pesce, *Guido*, 8.

³⁰ MS Parisinus ancient fonds grec 360, fol. 216-237 (14th c.) and MS Vaticanus graecus 872, fol. 240v – 243r (13th c.). See Lukas Richter, “Antike Überlieferungen in der byzantinischen Musiktheorie,” *Acta Musicologica* 70/2 (1998), 137.

³¹ Preserved in Plousiadenos’ autograph, MS Dionysiou 570.

³² Bjarne Schartau, ed. *Anonymous Questions and Answers on the Interval Signs* (Wein, 1998).

³³ Achilleus Chaldaeakes, in an article that explores the relationship between the *melopoios* (composer) and the *psaltes* (singer), suggests that today we conceive of a dichotomy between the two which did not necessarily exist in the Byzantine theoretical sources. He cites Gabriel’s description of the τέλειος ψάλτης as well as Chrysaphes’ τέλειος διδάσκαλος to show that, in the ideal conceptions of these theoreticians, there was a sharing and mixing of these two roles in the same individual. I contend that while Gabriel expected his *psaltes* to have the ability to write melodies, Chrysaphes’ emphasis on composition is far more pronounced (see Chaldaeakes, “Ο Μελοποιός και ὁ Ψάλτης στὴν Ἑλληνικὴ Ψαλτικὴ Τέχνη,” *Βυζαντινομουσικολογία*, ed. Id., [ed. Π. Κυριακίδη, Athens, 2010], 227-39).

³⁴ Conomos translates this term as “categories”.

ποιούντας ποιήματα, “those who **compose melodies** ignorantly and unscientifically” (Conomos’ translation; my emphasis). They are not worthy of criticism because of the way they sing, but because of how they write melodies. Moreover, Chrysaphes, in his appeal to authority, speaks exclusively of composition, about writing melodies which are independent works of art with identifiable creators. *Composers* constitute the figures in his lineage of authority. This emphasis seems to reflect the tradition of originality and eponymous melody making already well-established in Byzantine ecclesiastical music by Chrysaphes’ time.³⁵

Original Greek (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1901, <i>Manuel Chrysaphes</i>)	English Translation (Conomos 1985, <i>The Treatise</i>)
<p>ἀντιφώνοις λεγομένοις καὶ τοῖς οἰκοῖς ὁμοίως. τῶν οἰκῶν δὲ γε πρῶτος ποιητὴς ὁ Ἀνεώτης ὑπῆρξε καὶ δεύτερος ὁ Γλυκύς, τὸν Ἀνεώτην μιμούμενος· ἔπειτα τρίτος ὁ Ἠθικός ἐνομαζόμενος, ὡς διδασκάλου ἐπόμενος τοῖς ἐρρημένους δυσί, καὶ μετὰ πάντας αὐτοῖς ὁ χαριτώνυμος Κουκουζέλης, ὃς καὶ μέγας τῶν διδασκάλων ἦν. εἶπετο δ’ οὖν ὁμοῦ κατ’ ἔχνος αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδὲν τι τῶν ἐκείνους δοξάντων καὶ δοκιμασθέντων καλῶς δεῖν φετο καινοτομεῖν. διὸ οὐδὲ ἐκαινοτόμει. ὁ δὲ λαμπάδαριος Ἰωάννης τούτων ὕστερος ὢν καὶ κατ’ οὐδὲν ἐλαττούμενος τῶν προτέρων, καὶ αὐταῖς λέξεσι γράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ, ἔφη· Ἀκάθιστος ποιηθεὶς παρ’ ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου λαμπάδαριου τοῦ Κλαδά, μιμουμένη κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν τὴν παλαιὰν ἀκάθιστον. καὶ οὐκ ἡσχύνετο γράφων οὕτως, εἰ μὴ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὥσπερ ἐνομοθέτει διὰ τοῦ καδ’ ἐαυτὸν ὑποδείγματος τοῦ τῶν παλαιότερων ζήλου μηδὲν ἐξίστασθαι, μηδὲ καινοτομεῖν τι παρὰ τὰ καθάπαξ δοξάντα καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτοῖς. καὶ καλῶς γε ποιῶν ἐκεῖνός τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ φρονῶν ἔλεγε, καὶ λέγων οὐκ ἐψεύδετο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παλαιούς ἐμιμεῖτο τῶν ποιητῶν, τοὺς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ἐνδιαπρέψαντας. καὶ ἡμᾶς, εἰ γε</p>	<p>The first composer of <i>oikoi</i> was Aneotes and the second was Glykys who imitated Aneotes; next, the third was named Ethikos who followed as teacher the aforementioned two writers, and after all of these Ioannes Koukouzeles who, even though he was truly great, was a teacher and did not depart from the science of his predecessors. Therefore, he followed in their footsteps and decided not to change anything which they had considered... thus he made no innovations. Ioannes the lampadarios, who came after these men and who was in no way inferior to his predecessors, wrote with his own hand these words saying ‘Akathistos composed by me, Ioannes Kladas, the lampadarios, imitating the old Akathistos as closely as possible. And he was not ashamed to write this... if I myself wish not to distort the truth and precision of our science, I must not cease imitating the old composers.</p>

Figure 2. Authorship and composition in Chrysaphes’ *Treatise*.

3. Reception of Chrysaphes and his treatise

3.1. Post-Byzantine reception

The post-Byzantine reception of Manuel Chrysaphes is a multi-faceted topic that can only be briefly touched on in this present paper. Based on the frequency and geographic distribution with which his compositions were copied, we know that his impact was significant and widespread. As Conomos first observed, “it is no exaggeration to say that Chrysaphes’ compositions appear with unequalled consistency in Byzantine musical sources written after the middle of the fifteenth century.”³⁶ The significant representation of Chrysaphes’ works in the manuscript tradition is not a phenomenon relegated to one locality. This is due at least in part to his extensive – and geographically broad – activity as teacher and scribe, which spanned an impressive range across the center and periphery of the Mediterranean basin and Balkan Peninsula, undoubtedly contributing to his prestige amongst Greek ecclesiastical musicians.

³⁵ As the musicologist Thomas Binkley has noted, “The contribution of the performer to the creative process of performance has declined constantly since the Middle Ages, while that of the composer has increased (“The Work is Not the Performance,” *Companion to Medieval and Renaissance Music*, eds. Tess Knighton & David Fallows [1992], 36-43).

³⁶ Conomos, *The Treatise*, 13.

The manuscript sources and their liturgical arrangements, along with the tradition of composition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, suggest that Chrysaphes' impact was particularly meaningful in Crete,³⁷ and Emmanuel Giannopoulos has argued that Chrysaphes was instrumental in establishing the Constantinopolitan idiom of ecclesiastical chant on that island, a notion that must have lived in the collective consciousness of Constantinopolitan musicians in the 18th and 19th century, for, Chrysanthos writes nearly four centuries later: "When our psalmody was driven out of Constantinople, it was saved in the churches of the Peloponnese and Crete."³⁸ Chrysaphes' treatise is copied in two important manuscripts, probably of Cretan origin, EBE 968 and MS M. Σπηλαίου 233, leading Giannopoulos to conclude that this theoretical work was revered greatly in the post-Byzantine period, especially on the island of Crete.³⁹

That Chrysaphes was immediately revered as an authority in the sphere of Byzantine ecclesiastical music is supported when considering the contents and arrangement of MS Sinai 1251,⁴⁰ an impressive autograph of Chrysaphes' successor in Crete, John Plousiadenos.⁴¹ In this *Kalophonic Sticherarion*, Plousiadenos emphasizes Chrysaphes' preeminence amongst the pantheon of ecclesiastical musicians of the prior three centuries. Specifically, he orders the "classical" compositions of the yearly cycle by those composers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in customary fashion, from folios 1-280r. But then, remarkably, he includes a second, complementary section – an entirely distinct *Kalophonic Sticherarion* for the year – from ff. 281v-350v, which is devoted almost entirely to the compositions of Chrysaphes.⁴² The arrangement of this manuscript, at least, suggests that Chrysaphes' compositions formed an entirely new layer of repertory for the *Kalophonic Sticherarion*. Thus, amongst the musicians who immediately followed him, he was perceived as an equal to venerable fathers of the Palaiologan era – Glykes, Koukouzeles, and Korones. Indeed, Plousiadenos even calls him "a second Koukouzeles" in another probable autograph, MS Sinai 1312.⁴³

³⁷ A brief summary of this position is described in Emmanuel Giannopoulos, "The Stability and Continuity of the Old Tradition in Cretan Psaltic Art in the 17th Century and Generally in the Following Centuries," from *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant*, ed., G. Wolfram (2008, Leuven), 159-89. For a more comprehensive overview, see Giannopoulos' published thesis, *Η Ανθιση της Ψαλτικής Τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566-1669)*, (Athens, 2006), 64-69, where it is argued that the manuscript tradition of Crete bears the indisputable stamp of Chrysaphes, from the perspective of both the specific compositions as well as liturgical arrangements. Giannopoulos offers extensive evidence to support the claim that Chrysaphes was one of the primary figures who established the Constantinopolitan idiom of chant on the island of Crete.

³⁸ Giannopoulos, *Η Ανθιση*, 66.

³⁹ Giannopoulos, *Η Ανθιση*, 66.

⁴⁰ Balageorgos, Dimitris. "Οί Αποκείμενοι στη Βιβλιοθήκη της Ίερας Μονής του Σινᾶ Αὐτόγραφοι Κώδικες τοῦ Ἰωάννου Ἱερέως τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνού," in *1st International Conference of the ASBMH* (Athens, 2007), 54-5.

⁴¹ The prolific composer, scribe, and theoretician John Plousiadenos - eventually made his home in Venice, He is known as a papal sympathizer, convert to Catholicism, and Bishop of Methone.

⁴² The final section of MS 1251 contains a Triodion/Pentecostarion of mostly older composers).

⁴³ On f. 6r of Sinai 1312, an inscription reads, "Πρόλογος ὃς λέγεται ἰσοφονία κυροῦ Μανουὴλ καὶ μαῖστορος, τοῦ ἀληθῶς Χρυσάφη καὶ νέου Κουκουζέλη" (Balageorgos, 58). Balageorgos believes this codex is an autograph of Plousiadenos, although is not willing to say this claim is indisputable.

Giannopoulos' descriptive catalogue of the 91 Byzantine musical manuscripts in the libraries of Great Britain provides another powerful testimonial of Chrysaphes' reception on the island of Crete and the peripheries of the former Empire.⁴⁴ In the codices surveyed, there are over 300 compositions ascribed to Chrysaphes, from all hymn genres, and spanning a vast geographic range from Crete to the Black Sea. A few of the more significant codices include the late fifteenth century MS British Library Add. 28821⁴⁵ (over 25 compositions ascribed to Chrysaphes), the sixteenth century MS British Library Harleian 1613 from Crete (over 10 compositions), MS Jesus College 33, dated to 1635 from Wallachia (over 40 compositions), and MS Greek Mingana 4 (Birmingham), dated to 1678 and heralding from Trebizond in Pontos (over 145 compositions).⁴⁶ Chrysaphes is also frequently encountered in 17th century manuscripts native to the islands of Cyprus and Lesbos, as pointed out by Andrija Jakovljevic⁴⁷ and Papadopoulos-Kerameus, respectively. Thus, it seems that within a century, Chrysaphes' compositions and arrangements form the basis of several repertoires: mainland Greece, Crete, Mt. Athos, and Constantinople, and soon after, they proliferate in Wallachia, Moldova, Serbia, and the Greek-speaking regions of the Black Sea. Finally, Chrysaphes' influence can likewise be measured by the impact of *his own* liturgical arrangements in the musical manuscripts. He is the first composer-scribe to have included sets of the hymns from the Divine Liturgy (many of them his own compositions) in each of the eight church modes; this trend of full modal representation within particular hymn genres would persist for the next several centuries until the present day.

In his article on Manuel Chrysaphes, Papadopoulos-Kerameus includes a few interesting passages related to the composer from sixteenth and seventeenth century MSS. One inscription, notable for its commentary on contemporary performance practice, is contained in MS 4 of the Monastery of Abraham, Jerusalem, a *Kalophonic Sticherarion* containing several compositions attributed to Manuel Chrysaphes. At the end of the anthology, the scribe – Panagiotes “the New” Chrysaphes⁴⁸ himself – relates to his readers the nature of this anthology:

The present book, replete with melodies as sweet as honey, was completed... in the year 1655... authored and arranged by me the poor, the least, the uneducated, and the chief among sinners in truth, Chrysaphes the Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ. At my own expense, I willingly undertook the very painstaking task of editing and composing this, alone copying by hand the old Sticherarion and handwritten manuscript of the old Master Chrysaphes called Emmanuel and lampadarios of the sacred and royal clergy. However, I

⁴⁴ Emmanuel Giannopoulos, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς Ἀγγλία: Περιγραφικὸς κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων ψαλτικῆς τέχνης τῶν ἀποκειμένων στίς βιβλιοθήκες τοῦ Ἡνωμένου Βασιλείου* (Athens, 2008).

⁴⁵ Giannopoulos suggests that this manuscript may be of Cretan origin, although it is known to have come to the British Library from Epirus in the 19th century (with thanks to my colleague, Dr. Dimitrios Skrekas, for pointing this out).

⁴⁶ Giannopoulos, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα*, 85-89, 136-140, 189-201, and 358-385.

⁴⁷ Andrija Jakovljevic, *Catalogue of Byzantine Chant Manuscripts in the Monastic and Episcopal Libraries of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1990).

⁴⁸ Panagiotes Chrysaphes (c. 1623-1685) was *Protopsaltes* (first chanter) of the Constantinopolitan Cathedral from ~1655-1682. The author of eight known manuscripts, his *Sticherarion* and *Anastasimatarion* gained widespread use and prestige, the latter supplanting prior versions and used as the standard until the reforms of Petros the Peloponnesian (Alexander Lingas, "Panagiotes the New Chrysaphes." Grove Music Online).

did not compose according to the contents of that particular book, but with some new embellishments and with mellifluous, innovative theseis, in accordance with how things are chanted presently by singers in Constantinople. I accomplished this task, insofar as was possible for me, because of the instruction I received from my teacher, Master George Raidestinos, the Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ, which I have expounded on and highlighted.⁴⁹

In this excerpt, Chrysaphes is presented as a venerable figure, a member of the founding fathers of kalophonic psalmody – a position consistent with the breadth and depth of his reception already explored above.

At the same time, Panagiotes seems to suggest that by the time this manuscript is written in the middle of the seventeenth century, the melodic lines and *theseis* of Manuel's kalophonic stichera are already out of step with contemporary performance practice in Constantinople. It is out of the scope of this present paper to discuss the exact nature of Panagiotes' re-working of Manuel's *Sticherarion*, but it should be no surprise that the latter's original compositions were embellished by this time (perhaps several times over), over two centuries since the works were first laid to score.⁵⁰ In fact, the verb *καλλωπίζω* (to beautify or embellish) is among the more frequently encountered descriptors (in various forms) in the musical manuscripts as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, explicitly indicating authorial intention to embellish or even re-compose earlier works. On folio 133v of MS Ivion 975, one of the aforementioned autographs of Chrysaphes, this process of embellishment is described in a rubric preceding the *kalophonic sticheron*, "Μάγοι ἐκ Περσίδος" ("Magi from Persia"): "...ποιήμα κὺρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, ἐκαλλωπίσθη μετὰ παρὰ κὺρ Ἐένου τοῦ Κορώνη, ὕστερον δὲ ἠνώθη καὶ ἐκαλλωπίσθη μικρὸν παρὰ τοῦ Χρυσάφου" ("composition by Master John Comnenos, afterwards embellished by Xenos Korones, and later united and embellished a little bit by Chrysaphes"; see Figure 3). Chrysaphes both pays homage to the composition's original creator and its second redactor, while simultaneously claiming a degree of editorial authorship. The same forces seem to be at work, over two centuries later, in the seventeenth century embellishments of Panagiotes Chrysaphes on earlier compositions by his fifteenth century namesake.

Given the current state of research, notions of authorship and broader questions regarding continuity and change in the tradition of Byzantine ecclesiastical music from the medieval through the post-Byzantine periods must be cautiously addressed on a case by case basis.⁵¹ We are, however, on firm ground to conclude that Chrysaphes, in

⁴⁹ Κλεόπα Κοικυλίδου, *Κατάλοιπα χειρογράφων Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης* (Jerusalem, 1899), 26-28 (cited in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μανουήλ τοῦ Χρυσάφου*, 530).

⁵⁰ For one perspective on the existence (and perhaps development) of different styles of singing in Byzantine chant, including the concurrence of long and short *sticheraric* styles in the *Anastasimatarion*, see Stathes, *Οἱ Ἀναγραμματισμοί*, 37-47.

⁵¹ One example of remarkable continuity, at least from the perspective of the notated score if not the realized performance, is in a kalophonic sticheron by Koukouzeles, *Μεγαλύνω τὰ πάθη σου*, from Chrysaphes' autograph Ivion 975. Giannopoulos traces this Koukouzeles original through the MSS of the Cretan period, for example as embellished by Dimitrios Tamias, all the way to the *exegesis* of Chourmouzios in the Chrysanthine notation (MS EBE MPT 733). Despite certain variations, Giannopoulos concludes that this is the same composition, which, moreover, adheres faithfully to the compositional technique as laid out by Chrysaphes in his treatise for the application of the *nenano* and *nana* phthorai in the phrase *Οἱμοι γλυκύτατε Ἰησοῦ* ("Woe to me, sweetest Jesus"). See Giannopoulos, "The Stability", 159-89. In *Ἡ Ἀνθήση*, especially pp. 447-450, Giannopoulos includes a comparative analysis of specific

the decades immediately following his activity and well into the post-Byzantine period, was revered as a figure, and his compositions were admired, extensively copied, widely distributed, and presumably sung across a wide geographic span – from the Ionian Islands to the Black Sea. Furthermore, it seems that his compositions functioned as authoritative models on which later composers would base their own works.

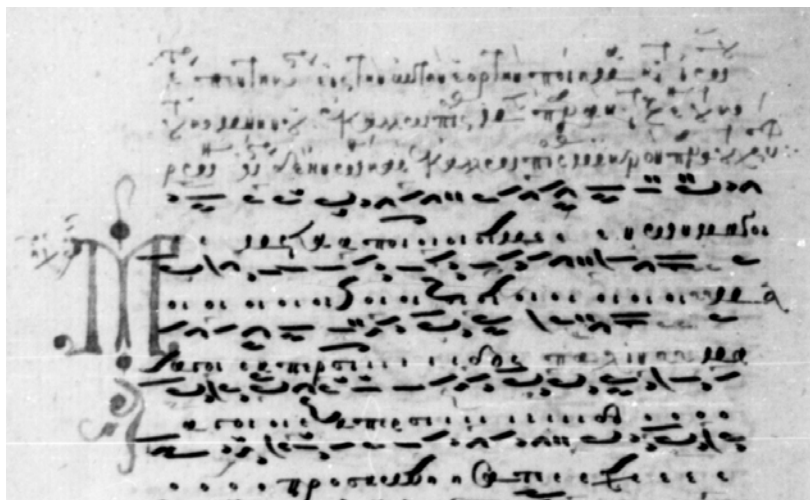


Figure 3. Chrysaphes' autograph and hand describing the process of compositional embellishment ('kallopismos'). MS Ivron 975, f. 133v.

3.2. Chrysanthos

In his *Treatise*, Chrysaphes, perhaps to counter criticism of very real opponents, presents a lineage of composers in an attempt to assert a theory of continuity from early Palaiologan times through the latter centuries of the Byzantine Empire (see Figure 4). Interestingly, these same words provided the basis from which scholars and musicians of the nineteenth and twentieth century would bolster theories of continuity sometimes far grander in scope. If Chrysaphes was simply providing a justification for his kalophonic style of compositions on the basis of linking himself with the prior masters,⁵² Chrysanthos – over 350 years later – had far greater ambitions.⁵³ In his section on music theory, Chrysanthos lists all of the musical treatises he knows of, including “The handbook of Manuel Chrysaphes which is concerned with the characters, modes, and especially with the *phthorai*.”⁵⁴ He praises Chrysaphes' treatise for providing

theseis of M. Chrysaphes, the later embellishments of Cretan composers (the subject of the work), and the subsequent transcription of these Cretan compositions into the New Method. Although his results are useful, they represent a sliver of Chrysaphes' output and further work is required before broad conclusions can be drawn regarding originality and embellishment of both melodic phrases as well as entire compositions.

⁵² Conomos suggests that this description of agreement amongst the composers in the lineage from which Chrysaphes himself had descended may have been the author's justification for his own innovations.

⁵³ Prior to the notational reforms of Chrysanthos in 1814, *parallage* was a method of learning melodies by applying polysyllabic words to each structural note in the melody. These were replaced by monosyllabic solfege syllables (e.g., Ni, Pa), imported by Chrysanthos in imitation of western solfege syllables (e.g., Do, Re).

⁵⁴ George N. Konstantinou, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα Τῆς Μουσικῆς Χρυσάνθου τοῦ ἐκ Μαδύτων, Κριτική Έκδοση*, (Mt. Athos: Vatopaidi Monastery, 2007), 125.

clarification of the characters (including the *phthorai*), and, several chapters later, he paraphrases Chrysaphes in order to bolster his description of the eight ecclesiastical modes. Chrysanthos begins book four with a description of the foundational tetrachord, its notes, and the intervals therein, and in doing so, he presents Chrysaphes as an authority who corroborates his own explanation.⁵⁵

τῶν οἰκῶν δὲ γε πρῶτος ποιητὴς ὁ Ἀνεώτης ὑπῆρξε καὶ δεύτερος ὁ Γλυκὺς, τὸν Ἀνεώτην μιμούμενος· ἔπειτα τρίτος ὁ Ἠθικός, ὀνομαζόμενος, ὡς διδασκάλους ἐπόμενος τοῖς εἰρημένοις δυσὶ, καὶ μετὰ πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁ χαριτώνυμος Κουκουζέλης, ὃς καὶ μέγας τφόντι διδάσκαλος ἦν. εἶπετο δ' οὖν ὁμῶς κατ' ἔχνος αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδέν τι τῶν ἐκείνοις δοξάντων καὶ δοκιμασθέντων καλῶς δεῖν φετο καινοτομεῖν. διὸ οὐδὲ ἐκαινοτόμει. ὁ δὲ λαμπαδάριος Ἰωάννης τούτων ὑστερος ὢν καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλαττούμενος τῶν προτέρων, καὶ αὐταῖς λέξεσι γράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρί, ἔφη· Ἀκαθίστος ποιηθεῖσα παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ, μιμουμένη κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν τὴν παλαιὰν ἀκαθίστον. καὶ οὐκ ἤσχυνετο γράφων οὕτως, εἰ μὴ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὥσπερ ἐνομοθέτει διὰ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματος τοῦ τῶν παλαιότερων ζήλου μηδόλως ἐξίστασθαι, μηδὲ καινοτομεῖν τι παρὰ τὰ καθάπαξ δόξαντα καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτοῖς. καὶ καλῶς γε ποιῶν ἐκεῖνός τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ φρονῶν ἔλεγε, καὶ λέγων οὐκ ἐψεύδετο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐμιμεῖτο τῶν ποιητῶν, τοὺς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ἐνδιαπρέψαντας. καὶ ἡμᾶς, εἰ γε

Figure 4. Chrysaphes' Lineage of Composers: Aneotes, Nikephoros Ethikos, Ioannes Glykys, Ioannes Koukouzeles, and Ioannes the Lampadarios (Kladas).

More salient to the issue of Chrysanthos' assertions of continuity, however, is his citation of Chrysaphes in the introduction to book two, which concerns composition. Chrysanthos points to Chrysaphes as validation of his claim that, "when the students of these musicians would compose, they imitated the method (τρόπον) of their teachers."⁵⁶ The term "imitated" (ἐμιμοῦντο) is of course lifted directly from Chrysaphes, who uses the word a handful of times to describe the process of composition adhered to by the great masters.⁵⁷ Moreover, the genealogy of kalophonic composers offered by Chrysaphes provides Chrysanthos with a historical, and thus venerable and inviolate witness to the "agreement amongst the masters" with respect to the compositional embellishment of the old *stichera*.

Chrysanthos takes at face value Chrysaphes' stated intentions for writing the *Treatise*. More specifically, he interprets portions of the manual as an argument against those who were singing, during the fifteenth century, in an unembellished manner, without care for the great hypostatic signs.⁵⁸ In §69 of the second book of his *Theoretikon*,

⁵⁵ Chrysanthos, *Μέγα Θεωρητικόν*, §298 (p. 131).

⁵⁶ Chrysanthos, *Μέγα Θεωρητικόν*, §400.

⁵⁷ E.g., ἀλλὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐμιμεῖτο τῶν ποιητῶν, Chrysaphes, speaking of Ioannes Lampadarios (Kladas) and his composition of the *Akathistos* (line 162 in Conomos' edition).

⁵⁸ The great hypostatic signs (also known as the great hypostases, the voiceless signs, or the subsidiary signs) appear with greater frequency in the musical MSS of the 14th and 15th centuries, proliferating in

Chrysanthos reports that there were certain teachers during Chrysaphes' time who taught that music consisted entirely of *metrophonia* (lit: 'counting notes') and that the so-called *hypostases* and *theseis* were superfluous. To correct this errant thinking, Chrysanthos says, Chrysaphes wrote his treatise, to elucidate the importance of the *theseis* and *hypostases*. Chrysanthos concludes this eulogy to Chrysaphes by stating that our teachers have preserved three ways of singing from Chrysaphes' time until this day, that is, singing first according to *parallage*, next according to *metrophonia*, and finally, according to *melos*.⁵⁹ Chrysanthos thus reshapes Chrysaphes' original words, relating them to terminology describing contemporary practice. For example, the word *metrophonia* is entirely foreign to Chrysaphes' vocabulary, yet it has a very explicit meaning according to Chrysanthos.⁶⁰ Chrysanthos equates certain fifteenth century phrases, such as "singing only with *parallage*" to his "singing with *metrophonia* versus singing with *melos*." In this way, Chrysanthos explicates a theory of "correct" performance practice using the treatise of Chrysaphes as his basis. In doing so, Chrysanthos also suggests that his description of proper interpretation of the notated score extends back to the Byzantine period, demonstrating continuity with the former Masters, including Chrysaphes.

3.3. Constantinos Psachos

If Chrysanthos' motivations were inextricably linked to the ideals of the Neo-Hellenic enlightenment and an attempt to show continuity with Ancient Greece,⁶¹ later appropriation of Chrysaphes' treatise was related to the discourse in the early twentieth century concerning "authenticity" of the contemporary tradition of singing in Greek Orthodox Churches. A characteristic allegation – levied both by internal reformers such as John Sakellarides⁶² as well as Western academics⁶³ – was that 20th century Greek

variety in subsequent centuries. These signs, written in red cinnabar ink underneath the main melodic neumes, were related to the Byzantine choral practice of *cheironomia* (i.e., directing via hand-signs) and served in some way to both unify the melodic phrases and indicate various embellishments. However, their precise interpretation has been a source of contention in circles of practicing musicians and scholars over the past two hundred years.

⁵⁹ According to Chrysanthos (§§69-73), to sing *parallage* is to chant the polysyllabic note names for each of the neumes of melodic ascent or descent. To sing *metrophonia* is to chant the hymn melodically but without care for the *theseis* of the characters with their hypostases, through which not just the "quantity" of the melody is written, but also the "manner of execution." To sing with *melos* is to chant the hymn with the correct execution as indicated by the melodic *theseis* and the *hypostases*.

⁶⁰ Chrysanthos provides an example transcription to describe *metrophonia* in the new analytical notation in *Μέγα Θεωρητικόν*, p. XLVIII.

⁶¹ And, perhaps, to "enhance the performer-composer dialectic" through the creation of fixed scores which transmit specific information, (Khalil, "Echoes of Constantinople: Oral and Written Tradition of the Psaltes of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople," [PhD Diss., UCSD 2009], 68.

⁶² The Athenian cantor John Sakellarides (1853-1938) was one of the most prominent figures associated with the Westernizing reforms of Byzantine chant (introduction of four part harmonization, rhythmic simplification of existing melodies). See Alexander Lingas, "Performance practice and the politics of transcribing Byzantine chant," in *Acta Musicae Byzantinae* 6 (2003), 56-76. This article is the best introduction to the early 20th century disputes amongst Sakellarides, Vasileiou, Tillyard, Psachos, Karas, et al.

⁶³ Henry Tillyard, Egon Wellesz, and Carston Hoeg founded the academic society *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (MMB) in Copenhagen. The transcriptions of Tillyard and MMB were based on the belief that the phonetic signs of Middle Byzantine notation (also, "Round Notation") should be read at face value with a rhythmic interpretation of 1:1 (sign:beat) or 1:2. Such a theory implied that the melodies sung in Greek

ecclesiastical psalmody was too sullied by Arabo-Turkish influence to be properly called Byzantine chant anymore, leading the latter group to derisively classify it as “Neo-Greek Music.” These scholars believed that the *authentic* form of this once-glorious music was hopelessly shrouded by a miasma of Oriental accretions that had taken place over the prior four centuries.⁶⁴

Although Chrysaphes’ treatise was copied in several later recensions and was clearly known to Greek ecclesiastical musicians of the post-Byzantine period, it was not until its printing in 1903 in the Greek publication *Φόρμιγξ*, by the Constantinopolitan cantor and musicologist Constantine Psachos, that the entire treatise was reproduced (this based on Chrysaphes’ autograph MS Ivron 1120). This reproduction furnished Psachos and some members of the Greek psaltic community with (what was presumed to be) a historical validation of many of their current positions regarding performance practice, in opposition to claims of stark discontinuity by their various opponents.

The amateur cantor and secretary at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, Markos Vasileiou (1856-1919), was perhaps the first to challenge Psachos’ notions of melodic continuity in Byzantine chant. Vasileiou believed that the pre-Chrysanthine notation was not originally stenographic in character but that gradually, over time, cantors began to interpret lines stenographically, adding melismas on top of the structural notes.⁶⁵ A skilled transcriber of medieval Byzantine hymns and practitioner of contemporary Byzantine chant in his own right,⁶⁶ Vasileiou nevertheless believed that the cantors of his day, separated by a vast expanse of time and an evolving notation system and performance practice, could only approximate the sound of the medieval Byzantine repertory.

Such theories of discontinuity were untenable for Psachos, who would eventually expound a theory of stenographic interpretation of the middle Byzantine notation in his 1917 monograph, *Ἡ Παρασημαντική τῆς βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς* in 1917. Psachos’ work shares a common thread with a work by the Constantinopolitan cantor George Violakes, *Μελέτη συγκριτική*,⁶⁷ in that it provides a defense for the theory of perpetual

churches during Psachos’ time had no relationship to the melodies written for and chanted in the cathedrals and monasteries of the Byzantine Empire.

⁶⁴ A detailed summary of the transcription of Byzantine and post-Byzantine melodies into the New Notation following the theory of ‘long exegeses’ is found in Gr. Stathes, *Ἡ Ἑξήγησις τῆς Παλαιᾶς Βυζαντινῆς Σημειογραφίας* (Athens, 1979).

⁶⁵ Incidentally, he seems to blame this on monks, who “had nothing better to do but extend the services with more elaborate chants” (Markos Dragoumes, “Μάρκος Βασιλείου Ἐνας Πρωτοπόρος τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας,” *Απόψεις* 4 (1988), 205).

⁶⁶ The transcription methods of Vasileiou, though similar to those of the later MMB scholars in regards to the theory of time-value interpretation of the neumes described above, differed in at least one important way. Vasileiou’s transcriptions were rhythmically prescriptive with the expectation of mensural realizations, while Tillyard and Wellesz promoted a theory of ‘free rhythm’ in performance (see, for example, Tillyard, *Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Vol. 6 [Great Britain, 1923], 39-40, 70).

⁶⁷ George Violakes’ (1822-1905) was *Protopsaltes* of the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople until 1905. The full title of his monograph is *Μελέτη συγκριτική τῆς νῦν ἐν χρήσει μουσικῆς γραφῆς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀρχαιοτέραν γραφὴν* (A Comparative Study of the Contemporary Musical Notation with the Notation of Petros the Peloponnesian and the Older Musical Notation), (Constantinople, 1899). Violakes states that “our 40 musical signs (the great *hypostases*) came from St. John of Damascus... and this is confirmed by the theoretical works of Gabriel Monachos and

stasis⁶⁸ within the tradition of Byzantine ecclesiastical chant. While Violakes was concerned primarily with the change in musical *yphos*⁶⁹ – in his view the result of the elimination of the great *hypostases* following the reforms of the “Three Teachers” in 1814 – Psachos led the charge in defending an explicit manner of transcription and thus performance.

It is in this Psachos publication that the importance of Chrysaphes’ definition of *thesis* becomes manifest. Psachos lifts concepts from Chrysanthos which seem to have their origin in Chrysaphes’ treatise, notably, the distinction between *parallage*, *metrophonia*, and *melos*. In his chapter on *cheironomia*, the ancient practice of directing choirs with hand signs, Psachos quotes Chrysaphes’ definition of melodic theseis. *Cheironomia*, a practice inextricably linked with medieval conceptions of melody making, is described as threefold in function by Psachos: for the signing of the great hypostases, for the signing of the musical lines – the *theseis* – formed by the motion of the hands, unifying the voiced and unvoiced signs, and for the keeping of *chronos* and rhythm. Like Violakes, Psachos could not deny that the notation had changed. But, unlike Vasileiou and Western musicologists such as Tillyard, Psachos insisted on the melodic identity of contemporary practice with medieval compositions. The evolution of the notation, he posited, was driven by the cantors’ desire, each in their own era, to indicate the melodies more precisely for purposes of teaching, transmitting, or remembering. For Psachos, Chrysaphes’ definition of the melodic theseis, despite its lack of explicit descriptions for the interpretation of the great *hypostases*, in consort with Chrysanthos’ explication of *metrophonia* vs. *melos*, was enough evidence to support his stenographic theory of transcription of Medieval Byzantine chant. Moreover, given the charged political and intellectual climate in Greece at the time, the treatise of Chrysaphes was almost a necessity, as it provided the requisite historical link to the medieval era.

4. Chrysaphes’ treatise and recent scholarship

4.1 Composition

Chrysaphes’ treatise has served as an important reference point for several other musicological investigations of the modern era. In the late nineteenth century, Johannes Tzetzis – perhaps taking the words of the treatise too literally – argued that Chrysaphes was a staunch champion of the musically conservative element in the Church, which allowed very little flexibility in terms of compositional autonomy, especially as related to altering the melodic *theseis*. Tzetzis seems to understand Chrysaphes’ treatise as a reaction to certain innovative compositional forms and a defense of the status quo, and thus, representative of its author as a figure of continuity.⁷⁰

Manuel Chrysaphes” (44). While he admits that the appearance of the notation has changed, he argues that this is perhaps due to calligraphic embellishments rather than a change in musical sound (instigated, his opponents allege, due to the reform of Koukouzeles).

⁶⁸ Lingas, “The Politics”, 62-3.

⁶⁹ *Yphos* literally means “style”. For Violakes, *yphos* probably meant something close to “the style of the way things are sung.” See also Khalil, “Echoes of Constantinople”, especially 4-11 and 73-80, for contemporary conceptions of *yphos*, especially amongst certain Greek Orthodox cantors in Istanbul.

⁷⁰ Johannes Tzetzis, *Über die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche* (Munich, 1874), 123-4.

In the very important work *L' antica melurgia byzantine*, Fr. Lorenzo Tardo of the Grottaferrata Monastery Library suggests that, while one would hope to be able to derive a thorough “grammar” of a musical system from the extensive collection of Byzantine and post-Byzantine theoretical texts (including Chrysaphes’ treatise, which was published in *L' antica*), these sources in fact describe a living, developing tradition, and are thus of limited practical utility.⁷¹ In spite of the practical limitations of these treatises,⁷² Tardo seems to accept Chrysaphes’ notion of continuity. Tardo theorizes the potential provenance of certain anonymous hymns that predate the personalized tradition of the Palaiologan period, by providing a comparative analysis of various compositions of the Akathist hymn. He concludes that Chrysaphes may have it right when he claims that the Palaiologan Masters were attempting to faithfully imitate their predecessors, pointing to an Akathist hymn labeled *palaion* (“old”), which compares favorably – as a potential prototype – to later compositions of the Akathist hymn by masters such as Ioannes Kladas. Tardo’s analysis is based on a now well-known thirteenth century South Italian manuscript, MS Ashburnhamensis 64, which preserves a version of this hymn from perhaps the early twelfth century.⁷³

4.2. *Phthorai* and the modal system of Byzantine chant

That musicologists would turn to Chrysaphes’ treatise for investigations of the modal system (and modulation techniques) of medieval Byzantine chant is no surprise, given that nearly 60% – the vast majority of the treatise – is actually devoted to the *phthorai* and their use in composition. The late Jørgen Raasted considers Chrysaphes the “best starting-point for [understanding] the modulation from one mode to another within a given melody.”⁷⁴ In his dissertation, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts* published in 1966, Raasted delves into the medieval *martyriai*, the *echemata*, and the *phthorai*, and in attempting to extrapolate the meaning of the latter, refers to Chrysaphes’ explanation of proper modulation techniques. Later studies of tonality and chromaticism in Byzantine chant have relied on Raasted’s study, emphasizing the continued importance of Chrysaphes’ fifteenth century work.

Dimitri Conomos, in his commentary on the *Treatise*, concludes that “in spite of the fact that the music in Iviron 1120 virtually without exception conforms admirably to the directions of his treatise with regard to the modulation signs, there are a high number of incidences in the later manuscripts and in works by celebrated composers where the resolutions of the phthores do not behave in the prescribed manner.”⁷⁵ Perhaps, speculates Conomos, Chrysaphes was trying to regulate an increasingly confused system by establishing a set of rules. Arvanitis supports a similar conclusion; he does not read

⁷¹ Lorenzo Tardo, *L' Antica Melurgia Bizantina: nell' interpretazione della scuola monastic di Grottaferrata* (Grottaferrata, 1938), 235-43. Tardo’s near complete reproduction of Chrysaphes’ treatise is based on MS Lavra A 165.

⁷² George Violakes expresses a similar degree of disappointment when referring to the treatise of Chrysaphes, stating that it is difficult to form conclusions regarding the function of certain signs in the old notation, since “even Chrysaphes” is unclear, presenting only certain “vague points” (Violakes, 25).

⁷³ Tardo, 240-2.

⁷⁴ Jørgen Raasted, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts*, eds Oliver Strunk, et al. (Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Subsidia, 7; Copenhagen, 1966), 17.

⁷⁵ Conomos, *The Treatise*, 98-9.

Chrysaphes' explication of proper composition with respect to modulation and resolution of phrases as necessarily a correction of 'bad' compositions (though he does not exclude the possibility), but more so as a manual whose purpose is to clarify a rapidly developing system that had not yet been codified, one based on a "new reality: the kalophonic chant."⁷⁶ The notion that Chrysaphes develops his theory of *phthorai* in direct response to the 'new reality' of kalophonic chant⁷⁷ is supported first, by the fact that these signs proliferated in the latter years of the empire, at the same time that kalophonic chant was reaching its ascendancy and, second, by Gregory Stathes' observation that all of the musical examples concerning the *phthorai* proffered by Chrysaphes in his treatise are from the repertoire of the kalophonic stichera.⁷⁸

4.3. Long vs. short *exegesis*

Most recently, Chrysaphes' treatise has once again been turned to as an important historical witness in debates over the proper interpretation of medieval scores. Stathes' work, *Ἡ Ἐξηγήσις* (cited above), written decades after the works of Violakes and Psachos, represents a more nuanced defense of the same stenographic theory of interpreting medieval and post-Byzantine melodies. Stathes is responsible for collating two very important sources, MS Dionysiou 389 (autograph of Apostolos Konstas) and MS Xeropotamou 357 (anonymous author and scribe),⁷⁹ and extracting from them a theory of transcription from the old notation into the new, thus providing the 'official' response to the transcription methods of MMB (see footnote 63). Both codices investigated by Stathes originate from the period immediately preceding the notation reform of 1814 and thus provide a 'key' to the reading of the old notation, something the Three Teachers were not so concerned with, according to Stathes.

Chrysaphes' treatise plays an important role in the subsequent leap in this theory, that is, the application of this late eighteenth century 'transcription key' to earlier repertoires. To support this notion of continuity, Stathes quotes an observation of Apostolos Konstas, from f. 9v of Dionysiou 389, concerning the unification of the signs and the creation of melody by the great hypostases. Stathes suggests that "this observation [of Konstas] comes directly from the Byzantine era, from the theories and treatises of Manuel Chrysaphes and Gabriel Hieromonachos."⁸⁰ He notes that Konstas is speaking of the unification of the voiced signs of ascent and descent, in other words the

⁷⁶ Arvanitis, "On the meaning", 125.

⁷⁷ In an article on the (Western) medieval techniques of *organum*, *discantus*, and *contrapunctus*, Susan Fuller has pointed out that past theoretical writings related to the combination of two or more voices only partially overlapped with the full range of oral, and eventually, notated practices (Susan Fuller, "Organum - discantus - contrapunctus in the Middle Ages", in Thomas Christensen (ed.), *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge, 2002), 477-502). One wonders if a larger sphere of techniques (especially related to modulation) would emerge if we had more theoretical documentation from the time of Chrysaphes, or a century earlier. It is plausible to view Chrysaphes' explication of modulation techniques and singing styles (via definition of the *thesis*) as an attempt, at least in part, to articulate a theory of a 'psalmodic best practices' amongst a larger plethora of both oral and written conventions of the time.

⁷⁸ Stathes, *Οἱ Αναγραμματισμοί*, 68.

⁷⁹ Stathes suggests that these sources were known to Psachos (Stathes, *Ἡ Ἐξηγήσις*, 21-22).

⁸⁰ Stathes, *Ἡ Ἐξηγήσις*, 85-96.

theseis, which is exactly consistent in his view with the teaching of Chrysaphes: “Θέσις [ἐστὶ] ἡ τῶν σημαδίων ἔνωσις, ἣτις ἀποτελεῖ τὸ μέλος” (“Thesis is the unification of the signs, which comprise the melody”).⁸¹ Stathes calls Chrysaphes’ definition of melodic *theseis* of “great importance” for the interpretation of the old notation.⁸² He concludes that, according to Chrysaphes, the different ‘paths’ and ‘interpretation’ (‘ὁδοί’ and ‘μεταχείρησις’), which are contingent on the type of hymn being sung (e.g., a *kalophonic sticheron* vs. a *cheroubic* hymn), concern the manner of performance, that is, whether they should be sung in a ‘long’ (stenographic) or ‘brief’ manner.⁸³

Arvanitis, a recent proponent of the theory of *short exegesis*,⁸⁴ argues that the notation in Chrysaphes’ time was read with short time values. While Arvanitis states that the fifteenth century may have witnessed the beginnings of embellishments on existing melodies, that is, *exegesis*,⁸⁵ he argues that Chrysaphes’ treatise is not to be read as a defense of a certain way of transcription or performance.⁸⁶ Rather, Chrysaphes’ treatise is to be understood primarily as an instructional manual concerned with composition. Arvanitis suggests that certain cantors and musicologists have misinterpreted Chrysaphes’ words in their efforts to co-opt the treatise in support of specific transcription theories. In particular, he states that words such as ὁδός, δρόμος, πολυσχιδής, and especially μεταχείρησις, have been misinterpreted, the latter probably meaning scheme of composition depending on repertoire, versus manner of singing (i.e., with short or long time values). Arvanitis writes: “Chrysaphes’ μεταχείρησις has been supposed to refer to the signs, to the notation like the μεταχείρησις of the theoretician Gabriel over a century later. And because, according to Chrysaphes, μεταχείρησις has many meanings, the term has been interpreted as referring to the really multi-faced long exegesis.”⁸⁷ The most recent debate regarding the proper interpretation of medieval melodies is unlikely to be the last, for, as Arvanitis himself notes, “there must be some other explanation for the existence of three ways of singing in our modern tradition” (i.e., syllabic, short melismatic, and long melismatic).⁸⁸ Chrysaphes’ treatise will likely play an important role in future discourse on this topic.

⁸¹ Stathes, *Ἡ Ἑξήγησις*, 86.

⁸² Stathes, *Οἱ Ἀναγραμματισμοί*, 33-8.

⁸³ Stathes, *Ἡ Ἑξήγησις*, 85-96.

⁸⁴ This theory was also promulgated by Arvanitis’ student, Simon Karas (1905-1999), who suggested that the notation developed into more analytical forms over time in part due to the termination of choral psalmody in Greek churches, which in turn led to the decay of the art of cheironomia and thus a semantic gap between the notated score and realized performance, and that the late medieval notation was not synoptic and the phonetic characters are to be read “as is” (Simon Karas, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Μουσικὴ Σημειογραφία* [Athens, 1933]). This theory was fully expanded and published in 1953, in, “The Correct Interpretation of Byzantine Musical Manuscripts” (Lingas, “The Politics”, 66), where Karas departed from both Tillyard and Psachos, arguing for a modified stenographic interpretation of the melodies while refuting the notion of “exact melodic identity” of 19th century chants with their medieval forebears.

⁸⁵ Arvanitis, “*On the Meaning*”, 125-8.

⁸⁶ See the dissertation of Ioannes Arvanitis: “Ο ρυθμός των εκκλησιαστικῶν μελῶν μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν παλαιογραφικὴ ἔρευνα καὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῆς παλαιᾶς σημειογραφίας”, (PhD. Diss., Ionian University, 2010).

⁸⁷ Arvanitis, “*On the Meaning*”, 111-13.

⁸⁸ Arvanitis, “*On the Meaning*”, 122.

Research towards the uncovering, classification, and interpretation of the compositional output of the ecclesiastical musicians of the Byzantine Empire is still in its nascent stages. Yet there is perhaps an equal expanse of material to traverse concerning the reception of these musicians and their works. In this essay, I have attempted to provide a preliminary introduction to such a survey. Musicians such as Manuel Chrysaphes the Lampadarios should neither be understood as inanimate receptacles of received traditions, nor as creators of immutable, indestructible works. Rather, they should be viewed as members of inherited musical cultures, who reacted dynamically to material that had been handed down to them – emulating their predecessors in some cases, departing from established models in others, and for Chrysaphes, commenting on various musical phenomena that were evidently variable in contemporary practice. Manuel Chrysaphes – composer, singer, scribe, and theoretician – was one of the most esteemed musicians of his day, and as far the manuscripts tell us, this prestige continued well into the post-Byzantine period. His treatise, due in part to its very practical commentary on melody and composition in Byzantine chant, as well as to its author's assertions of continuity within a cadre of composers from the Late Byzantine period, has served as a rich repository from which musicians and scholars have drawn, often reshaping Chrysaphes' words to underpin arguments relevant to their own times. These works, like the compositions and texts of the prototypes they point back to, demand interpretation, without which our understanding of this musical tradition will remain incomplete.